Berberizes, among other things, words, and the umbrella[5]...; and when Koranic laws apply to him, he follows them only if they are complimentary to his own custom; but, if there is a contradiction, it is custom, and not the Shari'a, which is followed, and followed without question.[6]

5) The author's expression of his personal sympathy for the Rifians: men who are "brave, loyal, hard-working, intelligent, modest, honorable, (long-)suffering, and austere."[7]

B) Introduction to Social Structure (fragmentary):

1) As an agricultural and warlike people, the social ties of the Rifians are rudimentary[8] and become weaker as the number of individuals associated with them increase: thus, from family to tribe, from village to region, there is a decrease in consistency. Strong in "elemental" groupings like the agnatic lineage or the dharfiqth, which units its members through blood ties[9], they lose rigidity although they are still precise and detailed in the jma'th (or local community)[10], and they become looser and more difficult to recognize in the upper-level groups, the dhaqbitsh[11] and its "fractions"[12], which nevertheless constitute the true "homeland" in North Africa, and are independent units[13].

2) The Rifian social organisms (i.e. units) are constituted by the associations between family (i.e. kin) groups which live together in the same territory, and thus have a localistic stamp which permits their evaluation in this manner. However, the institutions which constitute political groups do not have this character, as they are made up of elastic and complementary forms[14] which...retain

571 and orient a Rifian's activities and maintain...the safeguard of the interests which the community of his constituents does not guarantee him. While his social units are of a patriarchal, democratic and lay type, his political groupings are of a "military" type, true [562] alliances which join men together and not territories. While the social unit, minuscule as it is, has its proper jurisdiction over a territory and the people who live in it, whether men, women or children, linking together lands and families, the political unit only links individuals together, and these individuals are men only (author's italics)[15].

776 792 3) The "religious group"[16] satisfies the small (sic) spiritual needs of the rest of the Rifians and at the same time utilizes these needs for benefiting the tribe: they are the imrabdhen[17], who want to keep out of the Rifian's quarrels so that they can be effective mediators and arbitrators for him--and it satisfies the Rifian cult for the individual himself, and lends some distinction to his society, to which he never shows himself averse.

44 4) The "economic group"....is characterized in the Rif by markets, Jews[18], the twiza, wuzi's and dhwara, all of which suffice to fulfill the Rifian's principal needs, as much in terms of personal interests as in beneficial or humanitarian ones.

181 C) Family Organization:

1) Rifian society is an organized anarchy, with all the antagonisms and contradictions which are inherent in such a concept; and these may essentially be reduced to the "instinct of defense" and its derivative, the "spirit of association"[19].

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2) (The author's) concept of "groups": a) group of blood ties (i.e. kin group)--family jajgu or "ascending ramus" (read "lineage branch")[20] and dharfiqth or "family group" (read "lineage"); b) social group--jma'ath: "fraction" or canton [21] (khums, rba')[22] and tribe or dhaqbitsh; c) political group--liff or alliance; d) religious group--tariqa or religious brotherhood, and murabitic families (saints); and e) economic group--rural lands and property: storehouses[23], markets, Jews, "beneficial institutions"[24].

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Rifians are thus grouped into three "associations" (i.e. levels) of kin groups: 1) hearth or (nuclear) family or dhaddarth[25]; 2) "ascending ramus" or jajgu (lineage branch); and 3) "family group" or dharfiqth (patrilineage).

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3) The Nuclear Family or Hearth:--This is formed by the union of a man, a woman and their (unmarried) children, and it should be looked at from both the conjugal and filial standpoints. From a

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conjugal standpoint, it may be composed of a man and his four wives (and unmarried children). But Rifians are polygynous only in theory; in practice, only the well-to-do (such as shaikhs) are polygynous, and even they seldom have more than two wives. A poor man only tends to take a second wife if he has to, if, for example, he has divorced the first one for not bearing him any sons. The function of polygyny

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is to produce sons in order to prevent the extinction of the family in a society where the major law is "that of the strongest"[26], as well as to produce a sufficient number of male children to take care of agricultural tasks. "Oriental sensuality" is not a factor here, in any way.

562 anyone, not even their families, nor can they leave their house to work, visit or travel, attend feasts, markets[39] or saints' tombs, without previous authorization from their husbands, who tell them how long [593] they may stay away from home. A man may correct his wife's faults [684] in any way he wishes, and if she is guilty of adultery, he may kill her[40]. If he has more than one wife, he sleeps with each in turn.

•571 e) Concept of Turns:-(The notion of "turns" and of "doing things in or by turn" is a cardinal one in Rifian society.) There are "turns" of gift-giving (r-ghramth) at weddings, of the allocation of power (political hegemonies of families and even of tribes), of (usage of irrigation) water, or corvees (twiza), of theft (dhukkardha), of vengeance or reprisal (ar-raqba[41]), for (taking barley to) the fqih, or harkas (war-parties or punitive expeditions), of pasturage (dhwara)[42], and even of plows and animals during plowing time (if, as often was the case during the "Republik", there was only one pair of animals in the community). Rifian society is, thus, a turn-based society, and the term nubth (pl. nubath), in Rifianized Arabic, is so widespread as to include the inhabitants of a village.[43]

571 The case may be cited of a restless ex-qa'id (tribal chief 559 under the Spanish administration) who, desirous of returning to power, constantly pestered the administration with suggestions that he be [181] readmitted to office. As is logical and as a good Rifian, he wanted to be able to make a resounding exit, with his head held high, if he did not get the job. He wanted a responsible position in the regional government of the Territorio del Rif (in al-Husaima, then Villa Sanjurjo), and when he finally realized that his accusations

571 against the actual jobholder did not influence the Spanish authorities,
557 he resorted to his supreme argument, the great length of time that he had held the office in question previously and that now his turn had come again--it was time to shift office holders, as the Spaniards themselves did with their own governments and political positions!

594 f) Filial Society:--The Rifian (nuclear) family may be com-
595 posed of the father, several (i.e. up to and including four)[44] wives,
847 and legitimate children. Illegitimate children, along with their
848 mothers, are killed, and today, the mother of an illegitimate child usually kills it herself if her husband does not already notice it (or her).

768 g) Dissolution of Family:--This occurs only through the death
[587] of the father. When he dies, his eldest son takes over his duties as head of the family, if he is of age (i.e. old enough to do so); if not, the father's brother assumes this position and marries his brother's widow[45].

592 h) Family Relationships:--The father is the nuclear family's
593 legal representative and administrator, and he is thus responsible for the faults of its component members. He administers property freely and can disinherit his children. He punishes the members of his family at will, though he does not kill or wound them. He has the authority to marry off his daughters and sons, although in practice he may be thwarted by opposition on his children's part; the latter, if they are sons, may leave home, and, if they are daughters possessing a measure of spirit, they will be disgusted (by their father's behavior). The father distributes work equitably and evenly.

623 immaterial; for a jma'th which formerly contained only two dharfiqin
613 may now have three, four or five, and tomorrow even more, with a
621 proportionate increase in houses and rifles. What the jma'th is not, however, is a family group united by blood ties--it is not a dharfiqth.

623 .....The jma'th came into being because of the necessity of common
182 usufruct of elements essential to sustain life, such as water, pasture
621 lands, brushwood, etc., and because of the necessity of regulating relations, both material and spiritual, with one's neighbors (hence mosques, which come into being after such an association has been effected). The result was that when a group for any reason abandoned its original jma'th in order to establish itself elsewhere--insofar as its growth and development made it do so, it cut off relationships with its parent group and its point of origin to constitute a new and independent nucleus[71].

621 Many Rifians confuse dharfiqth with jma'th, and proof of this
623 is that when one asks the members of a given group where they are
613 from, it is the same to them to answer "From such and such a jma'th"
[829] or "From such and such a dharfiqth", because the dharfiqth in question forms part of the jma'th whence they originated. Jma'th has a geographical connotation, while dharfiqth smells of noma sm (sic)[72]. This also explains why in different places one may find jma'th-s having the same name but formed by different dharfiqin, because over the course of time other splinter-groups from other jma'th-s became associated with the initial splinter-group from the first jma'th.....

621 I am dubious about the value of the number of households as a cri-
623 terion in definition; but I think that the best single datum available
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621 today for finding out the volume of a social group is the list of
623 nubath or turns to provide food for the fqih. It is more constant
571 than an enumeration of houses or guns[73] or persons, which is more subject to variation. But it must also be remembered that there are two kinds of turns: those based on hearths, and those based on plows and animals to pull them. In some areas, one type is used, and in
621 others, the other.....The notion, however, of the Friday mosque as
623 a defining and anchoring characteristic of the jma'th is not bad, and
571 as such, it may be compared to the Spanish parish (parroqu'a)--but
794 only in the sense of members of different dharfiqin coming to prayer.
[613] This applies even if the mosque in question serves only as an individual place of prayer for a well-to-do family, and not as a common temple.[74]

623 The etymological definition of jma'th, "meeting, reunion, convocation" is in itself insufficient also, as it is too general.

2) Function of the Jma'th (understood again as council): Economic. It regulates services in common, i.e. use of water, pasture land, ghabth (brushwood) and communal lands, and, by extension, social relations (hospitality, benefits) and spiritual relations (funeral
623 services). Custom which is privately initiated in the kin group now
671 becomes public by acting as a yardstick in such relationships, and it is in the qanuns[75] of the jma'ths where the first rudiments of Rifian
[613] customary law appear. This law is both more elevated and more humane than that of the dharfiqth, which is purely one of reprisal.

621 In most jma'ths, industry and specialization is represented only
623 by a master blacksmith, aside from women who make pottery by hand;
463 on the other hand, in the "fraction" (clan or subclan) these
326 necessities are complemented.
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623 find in the institutions themselves is also found in their names and in those of their representatives.....Very seldom, however, could a single representative impose his own will, and the will was collectively that of the representatives of the dharfiqin. Each representative had a compact group of men behind him to back him up in his decisions, and for this reason the Rifian governmental system was in reality an oligarchic one.[94] Hence the importance of the iziddjifen, which has not diminished even in Spanish times (1935), as the present-day mqaddim, or village headman, is a decorative figure and a confidant of the tribal qa'id, if not a plaything of the iziddjifen, or indeed their servant. It is not rare for interventors (Spanish tribal administrators) to see, on their arrival at a jma'th a representation of this fact, with the men in file and the mqaddim at their head. So far, so good; but this external apparatus is nothing but a masquerade. There is no more than an absurd[95] functionary, the mqaddim, to whom no one pays attention save for a half dozen friends, relatives and the poor, who have only collected together under threats; but it is far more difficult to find the iziddjifen, who continue to meet in their habitual place or do their best to hide in their houses only to reappear after the representatives of the Makhzin (i.e. the interventor and his mkhaznis) have left, in order to smell out the bad news brought by the latter and to look for ways to annul it!

623 621 591 793 The aziddjif or amghar (pl. imgharen), the fqih, the aquwwan and the amarras, or storehouse guardian, are the proper functionaries or notables in a jma'th, an admirable economic organization[96], the administration of which does not cost its members a single cent, for

623 621 591 793 the fqih, fed by turn (nubth), receives one-fifth of the yield of the land in habus, the "rich widow"[97], and the others get what falls to them gratuitously. In the amarras or storehouse/silo guardian of 623 184 343 624 the Eastern Rif[98], we see another functionary of the jma'th, who, through the asuqi (25 kilos for 4 mudd, or measurements of barley)[99], was in charge of the preparation and custody of individual silos in fixed places, called ma'ar, which came to represent, for Rifians, the collective storehouses of agadir-s (whence the place name Ajdir, existing in both the tribes of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen) of the Moroccan South[100].

646 614 [623] The iziddjifen or family heads were the real directing nucleus of the jma'th; and in the clan, the governing body was made up of the imqqranen or "big ones", who habitually met, with legislative and executive functions, in the market. The clan delegates were collectively known as the Aith-(th)arba'in, and the meeting itself, the agrau (pl. igrawn), of the tribe. The Aith(th)arba'in were unappealable. Fqih-s and men of law were mediators, collectors or executors. 646 The Aith(th)arba'in, however, made the laws, interpreted them, and obliged people to obey them, without discussion, backtalk or subterfuge. This was a true form of popular representation, the powers of which, although they did not emanate directly from the people in many cases, or through a European-style elective system, were indirectly derived from, and with the tacit consent of, their constituents..... It is a rare person who can produce a document which accredits him as a popular (author's italics) representative, either circumstantial or permanent, but, nevertheless, no one with a better title or more

681 H) Sanctions: Further Notes (fragmentary):

1) Punishment: fine, exile, or death of person responsible, whether an individual or a family group[55].

[671] 2) Gradation: variable, according to stipulations in the various
[672] qamms[56]. Rifian law recognizes the same degree of responsibility in his accomplices as in the man who actually committed the crime, by assimilating them with his kin group[57].

681 613 [571] 3) Victim: receives no indemnity, except through what he or his kinsmen get as their share of the fine, which is equitably distributed among all the representatives of the dharfiqin[58], thus appearing more than anything else as a payment for services rendered; and the dharfiqin heads divided it up in the same way among their constituent nubath[59]. Thus, if the Rifian is encumbered with the responsibility of executive power[60] (all are obliged to stand against an aggressor), he still participates in the benefits of such power in a true popular sovereignty, and he never cedes his rights or duties.

000 4) Role of Jma'th in Application of Custom: to influence matters or conceal them, by money, force or politicking behind the scenes. Agrau or assembly of the aitarba'in; assessors and arbiters (tulba, shurfa and imrabdhen); role of liffs (aid to their liff-mates in payment of fines, etc.) (This subsection is completely fragmentary.)

682 In summation, three kinds of offenses were punished:

683 1) murder and woundings, with corresponding fines, and vengeance;

683 684 2) abuse of women (if voluntary on their part, each party had to pay 50 duros, and if it was purely and simply rape, the guilty man paid 50 duros);

villages, thus giving rise to the linkages[18] discussed earlier.

b) Political Organization:

1) The Individual Liff:--The liff is the union of individuals or groups of individuals in ways and means and towards ends to be discussed below....When one sees, over a period of time, two Rifians going together to markets, weddings and saints' tombs, as well as to each other's houses, and engaging in long and earnest conversations while sitting under a fig tree, etc., it is said that they, A and B, are not only imddukar (sing. amddukar), or friends, but that they are in liff; or rather, that A is in B's liff, if the latter has greater prestige.

The tie which unites these two individuals is not the same as one which might bind two Europeans together, for the bond between the latter may be that of affinity of ideas and interests, and in any case, both persons concerned have at the same time many other independent friendships. The European is both indefinite and free, but a Rifian cannot exist by himself. The European associate only shares a part of his freedom; a Rifian in analogous circumstances would enslave it all. A European can change his friendships, but a Rifian cannot abandon his liff mate if the latter is attacked. For, lacking any higher organization, would any warlike society, like that of the Rif, admit a disloyal person, a coward, a deserter or turncoat? And what, in a society so given to feuding, would an isolated or neutral individual be able to do?[19]....I suspect, indeed, that the celebrated hospitality of the Rifians and their faithfulness to the given word are not so much personality traits as simply results of their system of alliances[20].

621 which make up the said jma'th; they are at the same time the most
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554 influential and respected members of the community. Without any
[182] presidency, without rigid formalities, without oceans of ink or ridiculous voting techniques, this democracy of lineages, galled by necessity and convenience, knows how to unite the established social norms which have to regulate, in what follows, the relations between the different lineages.

671 It is thus a people's law, made by representatives of the
621 community, surrounding the act in which it is originated with all
181 the guarantee and formality for the satisfaction of the always suspicious mass and for the possible waylaying (in ambush) of its repre-
792 sentatives. For this, and as a guarantee, a greater solemnity and
621 public knowledge, two holy men are invited to and attend the meeting;
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554 they will keep the session from degenerating into a dispute because of the prestige which they enjoy, for the conclusion of the agreement, under which they place themselves, assures their guard and divine benediction. Even the most exigent will remain satisfied, closing the
792 road to backbiting. Even more, in order to avoid forgetfulness or
621 capricious modifications in matters of such transcendence, they draw
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212 it up in writing; it is easy to understand the genesis of the agreement
671 and the development of the session in which it is taken. From that
527 time to this, it is public feasting, a subject for all the commentaries
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● 571 in the village (households, watering places for women, and mosques), such as the numerous thefts in and damages to the orchards, the harvests of which are ready and which they fear will be wasted; these are events which are repeated every year at the same time and for which they are obliged to assemble in order to keep them down.

312 689 [24] [242] [627] amicably by irrigation specialists (aquwwam, pl. iquwwamen). In the latter instance, these specialists estimated the amount of damage done, and the individual who caused it had to pay for it.[120] The only penalty, most of the time, was indemnity of such damage, through, above all, small reparation projects. In case a man was also punished by fining, the fines were converted into improvements in the irrigation ditches. The irrigators did not make up special communities with 312 621 624 their own jurisdiction or functionaries dedicated to the inspection and fulfillment of the agreements, because this rudimentary society was not fond of bureaucrats(!).....

312 675 423 The difficulty with these irrigation agreements rested primarily, more than on the distribution of the flow of water, on rather the outline of the ditch, for which it was necessary to acquire previously the consent of each one of the property owners on whose plots of land it ran over; these individuals did not ordinarily give in unless they themselves were given an irrigation turn; and, in addition, they made it clear that the ditch was not to cross their land but to follow the boundaries around it.

312 571 [805] Irrigation turns, in the instances dealt with here, are simple, and correspond to the same notion which will later be discussed for the bigger water-courses, and which is based upon the principle of equitable distribution, with the utilization of natural means to calculate the time. This is reduced, once the number of turns is known, to fixing the duration of these and the order in which they occur. This customarily takes place at the point of origin of the ditch or dam; once assembled, the irrigators draw lots, by which each one of them puts down a straw while another, with his back turned,

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571 calls out the order of the turns by picking at random each one of the straws from the place in which they were deposited.[121]

E) Use of Rivers

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675 River waters are submitted, in general, to the same considerations as mentioned above. Their free utilization by owners of riverain land has no stipulation other than that of respecting the preferential rights of upstream lands and of avoiding damage to irrigation work [181] which has already been done. The jursidiction of the riverain people does not extend to the middle of the river-bed, for, as the latter often channels out new and diverse courses due to the torrential regimen of these water-courses which undergo constant variation and subsequent modification of their banks, this would give rise to infinite incidents and frequent modifications of agreements; and all of this would be contrary to the Rifian character, essentially conservative and traditionalist.....There is also another important reason for [648] [619] understanding why this is so, this being that these long-distance water-courses cross the territories of different tribes, ones which are even independent among themselves (and certainly from each other!); and in the event that any agreements at all have been reached about water distribution, these would have been extremely difficult to fulfill and would no doubt have originated not a few fratricidal wars and augmented the already numerous points of friction.

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675 Any other form of action would have been incompatible with the
312 essence of (the social behavior of) this society at the moment in which we are studying it, in which tribe, its clans and smaller segments all have such possessive notions of the property on their territories

312 uggugen) for the source or origin of irrigation ditches and as partitions of the waters on both banks. After a dam has been set up, built to hold as much water as possible, it is converted into a ditch-head, in which the necessary outlets are made, and it thus acts as the point of origin of the principal or primary ditches which have a permanent flow of water; these are usually two or three in number. Although [183] these outlets are irregular, the Rifians say that a half or a third of the water is utilized in distribution; and although this is what happens in practice, in theory the distribution is far from perfect, as the tribesmen do not take into account the width nor the depth of the outlets; and these are improvised, if not actually variable. The primary ditches are distributed and divided in this way into secondary branches, if these are necessary, in which the irrigation turns proper are initiated, which means that they only take up water for twenty-four hours; therefore, if there are four secondary ditches, each one [805] will take up water every four days. These secondary ditches are subdivided in turn into other tertiary branches, also of periodic or intermittent flow, which do not take up water other than during the day or at night; and these originate the irrigation furrows of individuals which do not take up any water other than at certain hours, which are determined by those of the principal daily prayers.

312 This distribution of irrigation water is intimately linked to
591 the Rifian lineage system, to the dharfiqth (which tends to have a
613 24-hour turn) and its component ijujga, and it is completed with one
596 order of turns begun in the tertiary ditches through which if one of these ditches, during its turn, takes up water during the daytime,

312 571 [613] [596] in the following turn it will take it up at night, and with another order among the irrigators in which the first in one turn will be the last in the next. These two classes of turns, this order of irrigation, is usually set up for the whole duration; when it is begun, the irrigators draw lots with small sticks or twigs, and, at other times, it is set up differently every day. The transfer of

312 571 425 [432] [805] [435] turns is free, as is the decision of the person to be favored. Turns of water are the object of buying and selling, and are independent of land. A 12-hour turn every week (eight days) comes to some 500 or 600 duros (1939).[124]

312 [821] The hour to begin irrigating is that of the rising or setting of the sun, according to whether the turn itself is diurnal or nocturnal. The repairs depend on their importance and where they are made, the users of the branch in question contributing to these, downstream. The outlets or cuts of water are the responsibility of

312 571 805 the individual who is irrigating at the time. The duration of turns was regulated by means of natural hours, those of the prayers, and by measurements of the shade and the angle of the same with some object, in other words, a true sun dial.

312 627 628 67 Differences were resolved, as noted, by means of arbitration, valuation or assessment, or indemnification, apart from governmental intervention if this is deemed necessary, as some qanuns express.

312 184 The variations in the treatment of ditches require the conformity of all the ditch-users to be expressed by themselves or their representatives personally, in a meeting convoked to this effect on the sites which are to be the objects of modification, in the system or traditions of irrigation.

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It has a turn cycle of six days, which are distributed among the four lineages (dharfiqin), these in turn dividing their turns among their respective branches (ijujga), in the following order:

1st Day (24 hours): Ajdir (U Hammu; U Haddu)

2nd Day (24 hours): Ughir Iyizan (U Xikhrif; U Yihya u Musa)

3rd Day (24 hours): Ajdir (U Mis'aud u Yusif; W 'Alla w Ujdir)

4th Day (24 hours): Ughir Iyizan (U Dris; W 'Alla Ughir Iyizan)

5th Day (24 hours): Bu Mqathir

6th Day (24 hours): Zawith (Fisra and Andrusen--Ushannen--Ihaddallahan--Dharwa nd-Hajj 'Abdinnbi)[133]

On the seventh day, the sequence is repeated.

Sidd Dharga n-Bulma'iz: on the right bank. It begins, as does 1-Bzimma, at Bu Harishen, crossing the river in order to divide its water with Dharga n Tfadhna, and each one of these three ditches receives one-third of the permanent flow taken in at Bu Harishen. It runs for a few kilometers and reaches the sea at Swani Waddai (Lower Swani). It moves three mills, the first belonging to the Qa'id Sriman (r-Khattabi) and 'Abdinnbi, the second to I'arhuthen and the third to Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru.[134]

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It has a turn cycle of three days for the three dharfiqin indicated, and they in turn distribute the water among their ijujga, which make them up in their own way. The turn begins at the maghrib, or sunset prayer.

[805]

1st Day (24 hours): Imhauren: Aith 'Aru Hmid
Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid
Aith Muhand u Hmid
Aith Bu Dhimmus (only when water is scarce)[135]

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2nd Day (24 hours): Dhifirasin: Aith Mhand u Yihya
Im'aruwen[136]

3rd Day (24 hours): r-Hujjaj: Aith r-'Arbi
Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru
I'arhuthen[137]

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(596)

We thus have, in the regimen of the ditch with which we are dealing, an excellent example of Rifian solidarity, observable in the turn of the Imhauren, as in times of dryness or drought, when they need more themselves, they hasten to aid their neighbors of Aith Bu Dhimmus (who are ordinarily limited to their own turn of hours of irrigation in another ditch, that of Thafadhna, as we shall see later), although by this the other three lineage branches or ijujga only harm themselves, because they defer one of their own turns by nine more days, and even if the turn is a small one in itself, they only receive it once every nine days.

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For a better understanding of the mechanics of irrigation among Rifians, we shall study in greater detail the order which is followed in this ditch[138], for it is curious to observe how they have simplified it, in spite of the modifications which are introduced in the case of the Aith Bu Dhimmus, for example, with its intermittent (author's italics) rights, so as not to interrupt the turn in general; but, at the same time, how can we explain the miracle of how the thousands of Rifian irrigators and the labyrinth of ditches which traverse the Plain of al-Husaima do not produce any disturbances nor give rise to any incidents other than those occasioned by ignorance on the part of the Europeans, of which the Rifians of importance sometimes try to take advantage or the avarice of the fortunately few and ill-named "colons"?

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We may see the ingenuity with which they resolve the problem of irrigation during twenty-four hours in a three-day turn, the same to each of the lineages of the ordinary turn as to the nine days in the exceptional case of the Aith Bu Dhimmus.

Ordinary turn:

1st Day: Imhauren (24 hours)--Aith 'Aru Hmid

2nd Day: Dhifirasin (24 hours)--Aith Mhand u Yihya

3rd Day: r-Hujjaj (24 hours)--Aith r-'Arbi

4th Day: Imhauren (24 hours)--Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid

5th Day: Dhifirasin (24 hours)--Im'aruwen

6th Day: r-Hujjaj (24 hours)--Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru

7th Day: Imhauren (24 hours)--Aith Muhand u Hmid

8th Day: Dhifirasin (24 hours)--Aith Mhand u Yihya (again)

9th Day: r-Hujjaj (24 hours)--I'arhuthen (I'abbuthen, probably)

10th Day: Imhauren (24 hours)--Aith 'Aru Hmid (again)

[596] And thus the turn is repeated, except for Dhifirasin, which with only two (irrigating) ijujga alternates between one and the other every time its turn comes around. We see here that in the ordinary turn the nubath (pl. of nubth, "turn") of Dhifirasin irrigate once every three days, while those of Imhauren and r-Hujjaj irrigate once every nine days. Now, if we insert Aith Bu Dhimmus into the picture, we see that Dhifirasin continues to irrigate once every three days and r-Hujjaj once every nine, both on the same day as before, while, on the other hand, because of this shift, Imhauren, to which dharfiqth the new irrigators belong[139], irrigates four out of five times once every nine days and once out of five times once every eighteen days, with the

312 intercalated newcomers irrigating once every twelve days, as shown
571 below, instead of the four lineages of Imhauren rotating every twelve
613 days if they would have been given the right to irrigate with them.

We may observe that in reality, without any alteration of the general turn and without any injury to the other two neighboring dharfiqin which are slightly further away, the thirst of the Aith Bu Dhimmus is miraculously quenched, and how this happens:

1st Day: Aith Bu Dhimmus (Imhauren)--takes turn of Aith 'Aru Hmid

2nd Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)

3rd Day: Aith r-'Arbi (r-Hujjaj)

4th Day: Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid (Imhauren)

5th Day: Im'aruwen (Dhifirasin)

6th Day: Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru (r-Hujjaj)

7th Day: Aith Muhand u Hmid (Imhauren)

8th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)

9th Day: I'arhuthen (read I'abbuthen) (r-Hujjaj)

10th Day: Aith 'Aru Hmid (Imhauren)--recuperates its turn

11th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)

12th Day: Aith r-'Arbi (r-Hujjaj)

13th Day: Aith Bu Dhimmus (Imhauren)--takes turn of Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid

14th Day: Im'aruwen (Dhifirasin)

15th Day: Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru (r-Hujjaj)

16th Day: Aith Muhand u Hmid (Imhauren)

17th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)

18th Day: I'arhuthen (read I'abbuthen) (r-Hujjaj)

19th Day: Aith 'Aru Hmid (Imhauren)

312 20th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)
571 21st Day: Aith r-'Arbi (r-Hujjaj)
613 22nd Day: Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid (Imhauren)--recuperates its turn
23rd Day: Im'aruwen (Dhifirasin)
24th Day: Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru
25th Day: Aith Bu Dhimmus (Imhauren)--takes turn of Aith Muhand u Hmid
26th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)
27th Day: I'arhuthen (read I'abbuthen) (r-Hujjaj)
28th Day: Aith 'Aru Hmid (Imhauren)
29th Day: Aith Mhand u Yihya (Dhifirasin)
30th Day: Aith r-'Arbi (r-Hujjaj)

[182] And so on.[140] To attempt to vary this unending chain which the irrigation turns of the Rifians make up in those ditches with permanent flow is to promote major altercations and to upset the equilibrium of the whole of the Plain of al-Husaima.

312 The simple attempt by a Rifian miller to divert for a few
571 seconds the water of Bufma'iz so that it would flow to his turbine mill,
402 I recall, provided the motive for a sudden and vehement protest by the
578 users of this ditch, en masse, to the authorities; the whole Plain of al-Husaima took alarm to such an extent that no procedure nor influence (on the part of the authorities) could be brought to bear toward the peaceful possibility that the people might acknowledge the man's alleged right; and, nevertheless, this Plain needs more than a concerted arrangement and ordination, an improvement and rectification of the principal ditches;[141] and above all it needs a possible increase of flow for the outlet of subterranean or subalveal waters.

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Sidd Dharga n Tfadhna: on the right bank. It takes half the water from Bufma'iz, and therefore begins, as do the other two, in Bu Harishen, the permanent flow taking up one-third of the dam. It moves four mills: that of Muhammad Akuh and Si Muhammad Budra; downstream, that of Dharwa nd-Hajj Shiddi; the next, that of Dharwa n Hammu Taqar'aith, Qa'id Sriman (r-Khattabi) and Muhand nd-Hajj Hammu; and finally, that of Dharwa nd-Hajj Hammush.[142]

The turn is one of three days for the three dharfiqin using the ditch, and each lineage redistributes its twenty-four-hour flow as follows:[143]

1st Day: Yinn Si 'Amar Umrabit

2nd Day: Aith Bu Dhimmus (24 hours): Ajdir (12 hours)

Andrusen (2 hours 40 minutes or one-fifth)

Aith Bu Dhimmus (9 hours 20 minutes or four-fifths)[144]

(Andrusen and Aith Bu Dhimmus thus irrigate 12 hours between them)

3rd Day: Aith 'Aru Hmid (Imhauren) (24 hours): Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid

Aith Muhand u Hmid

Aith 'Aru Hmid

The Ghis also provides water for three other ditches before it empties into the sea: Tuth ("mulberry") and Hammam[145] on its left bank and Shimurra on its right; but they do not have a permanent flow like the others discussed above, nor for that matter is their regimen or capacity, which is somewhat arbitrary and subordinate to the others, well regulated, for an irrigator, during his turn, can, if he wants,

312 lead the water to which he has a right in any of the main ditches into
571 these three smaller ones. The ditch of Tuth, when it has water, moves
613 the mill of Dharwa nd-Hajj Mis'aud. The irrigators of the Tafadhna
[402] ditch, whether the turn is interrupted or not, have the right to use
that of Shimurra, but giving first choice to those who use it regularly.

16. QANUN OF THE NKUR RIVER (AITH WARYAGHAR):

312 The Nkur River has an irrigation regimen which is less exact than
675 that of the Ghis, and the written agreements on the distribution of its
waters are few and recent. One of them refers to the division of waters
between the Axt Tuzin and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, with the intervention of
the Bureau of the Aith Waryaghar (in Ajdir).[146] In any case, the
establishment of such agreements is based upon the same notions and
the same norms as in those pertaining to the Ghis.

312 In the Middle and Upper Nkur, there is more than enough water to
[621] irrigate the meanders which the river has created, through which it is
easy to affix by-laws to the 'azibs[147] of the neighboring jma'ths which
own land on its banks, given the small amount of land under irrigation.
[241] There is even freedom and waste, and it is not uncommon to see, during
harvest time, the formation of tiny threshing floors with capricious
irrigation-furrows of 300 and 500 meters in the middle of the river bed.

[619] There are meanders like Dhaghzwith n Dasa (upstream, in the territory of Axt Tuzin, and near the bridge on the right bank) and Dhazurakhth (downstream, in the territory of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and also right beside the same bridge, but on the left bank), which are of relatively large dimension and which have already stabilized turns; but the real difficulties and concomitant near-perfect solutions are

A, [See pp. 361-369--Analyst]

312 [619] only found in the Lower Nkur, the principal water outlets of which, by acting as dividing lines between different tribes on both banks,[148] are Aghbar u Yidir, on the right bank and upstream from the Thanda Hawa pond, and Azru n Srith ("Rock of the Bride"), north of the former.

The latter point is the most important, where the wide Plain of al-Husaima and the ditches which traverse it may truly be said to begin. In the accompanying diagram, all these points are indicated, as well as the principal ditches, the regimen of which we shall now indicate in outline, with the hope that these notes may someday serve as the basis of a more detailed study.

West Bank:

Dharga n Dahar: begins downstream and right beside the piste to the Thimsaman, bordering it and crossing the main Tetuan-Melilla road to [402] end up in Imzuren. It moves three mills. It has two turns of twenty- 312 four hours each: one for the Qa'idate of Nkur (Aith Bu 'Ayyash) and • 571 the other for that of l-Uta, the Plain. The latter, in turn, is divided into one-third for Imzuren and two-thirds for Aith Musa w 'Amar;[149] and this gives rise to the following cycle:[150]

1st Day: Aith Bu 'Ayyash

2nd Day: Aith Musa w 'Amar

3rd Day: Aith Bu 'Ayyash

4th Day: Aith Musa w 'Amar

5th Day: Aith Bu 'Ayyash

6th Day: Imzuren

312 Dharga Ughzar Amzzyan ("ditch of the small river"): In May 1938 [402] the flow of this ditch was 513 liters per second. It originates

312 (402) downstream from Dharga n Dâhar, and it yields one-third of its flow to Dharga n Tmsaman; it arrives at the Bulma'iz ditch at the height of Thafrasth, near the now defunct Wednesday Market of Sidi Bu 'Afif; and it moves four mills: the first belonging to Muhand 'Aida w 'Amar; the second, to 'Allush nd-Hajj Muhand u Haddu; the third, to 'Abdssram nj-Hajj Bu Qiyadhen; and the fourth, to the Qa'id Sriman (r-Khattabi) and to 'Amar 'Abdallah nd-Hajj Muhand.[151]

312 571 It has three turns: one for those upstream (designated as n-dara), another for those downstream (s-waddai), and the third for the Granja Agricola or Model Farm of Imzuren (this last on Wednesdays and Thursdays), in the following manner:

1) N-dara (24 hours, distributed into 5 ditches): 1st--Sidd r-Hajib
2nd-Sidd Inufan
3rd--Sidd Bu Kra'
4th--Sidd Ahammar
5th--Sidd Miskur[152]

2) S-waddai (24 hours, distributed into 3 ditches): 1st--Tigarth (12 hours)
2nd--Sidd I'abbuthen (6 hours)
3rd--Sidd Aith Mis'aud (6 hours)[153]

3) N-dara (24 hours, distributed into 4 ditches): 1st--Sidd Tagharbund
2nd--Sidd 'Abdallah
3rd--Sidd 'Abdallah
4th--Sidd Ishtari[154]

4) S-waddai (24 hours, distributed into 2 ditches): 1st--Imhauren (12 hours)
2nd--Aith Mhand u Yihya (12 hours)[155]

000 which pertains to the agreement to which both these tribes came.

312 613 The flow taken up by the Aith Waryaghar bathes the meander of Sidi r-Hajj Yusif[161], and is used by the Aith Umnudh lineage of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash. It is divided [illegible] into two turns of twenty-four hours each: one for the lineage branch of Aith Ishsiu (some 80 irrigators) and the other for the lineage branch of "True" Aith Umnudh (some 130 irrigators).[162] The flow taken up by the Axt Tuzin (clan of the Axt 'Akki) is distributed through the Dharga n Tufdhisth.

312 [823] [103] Azru n Srith ("The Rock of the Bride"): This legendary site[163], the point of departure for water from the pond of Thanda Hawa, beside the tomb of Sidi Birqi, is the principal shed for the waters of the Nkur River, and four ditches flow from it: one on the left, or Aith Waryaghar, side, Dharga n Tufrashth, and three on the right, called Sunduq (Axt Tuzin), Sidd Asiyar[164] (Thimsaman) and Ihajjamen ("barbers") (Thimsaman), respectively.

Sunduq and Tufrasht divide water into equal parts. In turn, the Sunduq ditch, by the same token, divides it with Dharga Usiyar, and the latter, in turn, with Ihajjamen, which in time of scarcity has no water.

[571] [613] The turn cycle of Dharga n Tufrasht is five days for Izakiren and two for Ighmiren.[165]

Dharga Sidd 'Arridh: begins at the same height as Dharga Hadhidha, on the other (west) bank, and beside and just upstream from the crossing of the main Tetuan-Melilla road and the piste to the Thimsaman.[166]

312 Dharga (Sidd)n Bujinn: Downstream from Dharga 'Arridh, in front [402] of Dharga n Dahar. It reaches Habbuqush[167] and moves three mills (Sriman Muhammad u Bari, Hammadi n Muh u Bari and Hmid Hammadi).[168] [571] It has two turns, for the Thimsaman and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.[169]

Dharga Iznagen: Downstream from Bujinn, it reaches Habbuqush and [571] has the following turn cycle: Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, I'abbuthen, Ims'- [402] audhen, Habbuqush and Thabirkhashth.[170] It moves three mills (Hmid n 'Amar, Si Mhand u bil-Qasim, and Muhammad n bil-Hajj).

104 Dharga nj-Fars: only in time of abundance.

Vocabulary: water-aman; irrigate-sissu; irrigator-itsissau; turn-nubth, pl. mubath; dam-uggug, pl. uggugen; sluice or dyke-sidd; ditch-dharga, pl. dhargiwin or dhargwin; irrigation furrow ("donde se rompe agua")- anqssar, pl. inqssaren; water or irrigation expert-aquwwam, pl. iquwwamen;[171] land-dhamurth; garden, orchard-dhabhirth.

17. DOCUMENT REGARDING THE DIVISION OF IRRIGATION WATER: TRANSLATION:

675 614 312 578 423 691 Praise be to God. After the truce (sulh) took place between the three subclans, which are comprised by the people of Ajdir and those who are with them, those of the Imhawren and the ones with them, and those of the Imrabdhen and the ones with them,[172] the water of the River Ghis which is born (literally, "comes out") in the springs of Bu Harishen and in those below it was partitioned into three irrigation ditches, in conformity with what is set down in the document which records the testimony of those who have agreed to it, the Shaikh Muhammad bin 'Ali bin Shu'aib Amhawil, wishing to appropriate for himself the water which exists above the springs, whose water is

usufructed by 'Abdallah bin Ahmad Amhawif and his brothers Awlad 'Ali bin Ahmad[173], because the water of the latter is independent of that which was concluded in the agreement, proceeded to hinder it from those (individuals and social groupings) mentioned in the above pact, alleging that it was prejudicial to the water which was the object of the agreement.

He and the Sayyid Misa'ud bin 'Ali al-Ajdiri, wakil (legal representative) of the people of Ajdir and Imrabdhen, appeared for judgment before the servant of the Sultan (may God protect him[174], the Qa'id Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Salam bin 'Abd al-Sadaq and before the distinguished and good jurisconsults and other (persons), who advised them to work out an arrangement, as is ordered in the Book (Koran) and in the traditional law (Shar'), by whatever exists in it of benefit to both parties and by the fear of what could happen as a grave emanation from the quarrel. By virtue of this, the water cited above as the object of litigation shall be divided into three parts. One-third of it, the amount of which is that of four days of irrigation, is for the aforementioned Shaikh Muhammad and his associates in irrigation; and the other remaining two-thirds, the amount of which is that of eight days of irrigation, shall be channeled into the three irrigation ditches which were the object of the first agreement made, and which emanate from the springs of Bu Harishen.

In conformity with the above, the litigation was considered as finished, as mentioned above.

No trouble remaining between them, by virtue of the above, (as well as) no quarrel, no proof, nothing which could continue the debate

695 is to be found situated above the ditch of 'Umar bin Yusif al-Waryaghli.
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[693] This is what the witnesses of the present (act) certify without there being (any) doubt existing in it. A complete attestation.

693 The undersigned notaries who have compiled (the testimonies which
695 these individuals afforded) from them testify that the latter are in a perfect state of legal capacity (i.e. of sound mind and memory) to testify, and they know them (i.e. personally).

[805] On the 21st day of the blessed Sha'ban of the year 1150 (December 13, 1737). Two illegible signatures follow.

19. PURCHASE AND SALE OF AN IRRIGATION TURN: TRANSLATION:

Praise be to the one God.

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432 The Qa'id Sulaiman bin Muhammad al-Waryaghli al-Khattabi al-Ajdiri[176] buys, with the power and force of God, from the one who sells it, Siddiq bin Muhammad bin Siddiq al-'Abdallawi[177], one-fourth (of a part) of the irrigation ditch of Bulma'iz, (in his turn) by day or by night, his turn reappearing about (once) every nine days; on some occasions
432 he gets it during the day, and on others at night. A valid, definitive
[435] and firm purchase, so much down, without conditions of resale or op-
[436] tions (to anything) other than that assigned here), for a price the sum of which is 100 duros, in Spanish money (i.e. 500 pesetas). This amount the abovementioned seller has taken from the abovementioned buyer, thus recognizing it in front of both witnesses instrumental to the present act, freeing the buyer from it, who took over his purchase with complete possession, occupying it in his place of ownership in conformity with the traditional law and the right of rehibitory action

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

000 In my humble opinion there is more than enough water for the surface area which can be irrigated; and so much more, in fact, that the amount which is lost is greater than that which is put to use.

312 (999) Calculating grosso modo an irrigable area of 5000 hectars, bounded by the main road on the west, as well as a subalveal flow of over 1 cubic meter per second from the Nkur River, according to the approximate calculations made when the supports of the new bridge (i.e. crossing the river at Km. 20 to the Axt Tuzin and Melilla) were set up, it would not be far off the mark to estimate the flow in both rivers, plus that of Thifarwin (in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) at some 3 cubic meters per second, or 10,000 cubic meters per hour; and this would give daily 48 cubic meters per hectar under permanent irrigation.

Most of this water is now lost in the sea....and represents several millions of pesetas lost while technicians, policy makers and businessmen show no iterest.

(591) (435) (241) It should be remembered that a single turn of irrigation water every eight days costs 500 to 600 duros in the Plain of al-Husaima, and continually produces two harvests a year.

Ghis:

Ditch of Bufna'iz -- May 20, 1938 -- carried 131 liters per second

Ditch of r-Bzimma -- May 20, 1938 -- carried 46 liters per second

Nkur:

Ditch of Aghzar Amzzyan -- May 20, 1938 -- carried 770 liters per second

Ditch of Thimsaman -- May 20, 1938 -- carried 770 liters per second

Ditch of Sidd Jdid -- May 20, 1938 -- carried about 40 liters per second

Ditch of 'Ain Harri -- May 20, 1938 -- carried about 40 liters per second

Ditch of Swani -- May 20, 1938 -- carried about 40 liters per second

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[614] consideration here) are affiliated with the Ajdir segment of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Iyizan.

[614] 137--All three lineages are member groups of the subclan of the Tigarth in the clan of the Aith 'Ari.

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138--Our own notes on the division of irrigation water from Dharga n-Bulma'iz are a little at variance with those of Blanco. There are three turns of 24 hours each, for the secondary ditches of Dhifirasin, r-Ghis Burma'iz and Thafadhna n Dara (Upper Dhafadhna). The Dhifirasin turn is distributed among the lineages of the Ibukriwen, Ihanjiqen (both of Aith Mhand u Yihya of the Plain) and Im'aruwen (this is exactly as Blanco indicates); but the Ghis Burma'iz turn is limited only to the three lineages of the Imhawren, i.e. the Aith 'Aru Hmid, Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid and Aith Muhand u Hmid. The Tafadhna n Dara turn is divided between the lineage of the Yinn Si 'Amar (branches of Dharwa nd-Hajj 'Amar and Dharwa nd-Hajj Muhand) of Lower Imrabdhen, clan of the Imrabdhen; and the Aith Bu Dhimmus (Dharwa n Muhammadi 'Allush); and this is very much at variance with what Blanco says. It is possible, but unlikely, that a change in order may have taken place after the Spanish administration put cement bases in the three principal ditches (r-Bzimma, Bulma'iz and Dthafadhna) in the Lower Ghis; and the cementing occurred long after Blanco left the Rif. It is easier (and probably more plausible) to attribute the discrepancy to ambiguity among informants; but here again, the pitfall of using ambiguity as a scapegoat is that even the least intelligent users of any ditch are always thoroughly conversant with which lineages use it, how much time and how long the cycle is, and in what order it comes. For it is standard irrigation practice in the Plain of al-Husaima that each dharfiqth receives water for 24 hours at a stretch, and that after this, the supply is cut off so that other dharfiqin can irrigate.

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[114] [614] 139--Blanco is in error here for not being familiar with the segmentary minutiae of the Aith Waryaghar. The Aith Bu Dhimmus lineage does not belong at all to the dharfiqth of the Imhawren, whose clan affiliations are with the Aith 'Ari, but to that of the Aith Yikhrif w 'Amar in the subclan of the Isrihan, of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

[114] 140--Our own fieldnotes on the subject say nothing of the staggered, around-the-clock rotation every twelve days of the Aith Bu Dhimmus after their insertion into the routine of the Imhawren turn; but we think we are at fault here for not having gone into the matter thoroughly enough. Blanco is indeed to be congratulated here not only on a truly original discovery, but on an excellent exposition of his material as well.

141--This statement proves that in Blanco's time the three principal ditches emanating from the Lower Ghis had not yet been cemented.

142--Only the lineage of the Dharwa n Hammu Taqar'aith is of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari; all the rest of the individuals and lineages mentioned here are resident in Ajdir of the Aith Ughir Izan subclan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

143--Our own notes on the distribution of water from the Tafadhna ditch, while not as detailed as those of Blanco, are nonetheless largely in accord with his. The ditch has a three-day cycle: Imhawren (24 hours),

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151--The third-mentioned individual was from the Aith Bu Qiyadhen lineage of the Aith 'Adhiya subclan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and the fourth from Ajdir of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. The others were unidentified.

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152--Sidd r-Hajib irrigates the Aith Musa W. 'Amar and Iswiqen n Waddai (affiliated with the Aith r-'Abbas subclan of the Aith 'Ari), for the most part. Sidd Inufan irrigates the territory of the same lineages, as well as the land of a few intrusive families of Shurfa Wazzaniyin from Snada (Aith Yittuft), those of Sidi l-Hajj Mikki and Sidi Brahim. Sidd Bu Kra' irrigates up through Imjjudhen (of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari), as well as r-Mruj and Ahamri (the site of the Granja). Sidd Ahammar irrigates land bought by the Hajj Hmid n 'Abdssram Bu 'Ayyashi, the son of 'Abdssram nj-Hajj Muhand Bu Qiyadhen mentioned in note 151; and it irrigates land of the Ihankuren lineage (in Aith Musa w 'Amar) as well. Sidd Miskur irrigates Ifthisen (Aith Musa w 'Amar) and the Ifqiren (Aith 'Amar u Bukar of the Lower Imrabdhen).

153--These ditches are presumably named for the lineages which use them: Tigarth and I'abbuthen (both of the Tigarth subclan) in the Aith 'Ari, and Aith Misa'ud in the Lower Imrabdhen.

154--Sidd Tagharbund irrigates for the Ihankuren (of Aith Musa w 'Amar of the Aith r-'Abbas subclan of the Aith 'Ari), Imjjudhen (of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari), certain lineages of Bu Minqad (again of the Aith r-'Abbas of the Aith 'Ari), the (Lower) Imrabdhen of r-'Azih Imzuren, and, in 1953, for the then Pasha of Villa Sanjurjo (al-Husaima), Mikki n Sriman r-Khattabi, of Ajdir. Sidd 'Abdallah irrigates for the Ifqiren lineage (of Aith 'Amar u Bukar of the Lower Imrabdhen subclan) at r-'Azib Imzuren, Sidd Arbib ("dam of the step-child") irrigates for the Ifqiren and Ma'iza lineages (also of Aith 'Amar u Bukar) at r-'Azib Imzuren. Sidd Ishtari irrigates for the Imrabdhen of r-'Azib Imzuren, and for the Imhawren, Aith Musa w 'Amar and Bu Minqadh lineages (the last three of the Aith 'Ari).

155--As indicated, the Imhawren are a subclan of the Aith 'Ari, while the Aith Mhand u Yihya are a lineage of the Isrihan subclan of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

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156--For whom, presumably, the ditch was named in the first place, as those of its members who are nearest it share a turn from its water.

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157--Our notes state that the Dharga n Tmsaman always has a right to one-third of the water from Dharga Ughzar Amzzyan; and that there are four, rather than three, turns of 24 hours each, the fourth being that of the Aith 'Amar u Bukar (Lower Imrabdhen) of Ma'iza.

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158--A lineage of Izakiren community in the subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

159--Sidd Jdid is used in summer, when water is scarce, by the same lineages who use Dharga n Tmsaman.

160--This document is not given by Blanco in translation.

121 and desert areas remained politically distinct from the Sultan's
105 regime. These areas, of which the Rif was one, were called the
bled-as-siba, or the land of insolence. In such areas there was
(571) no centralized political authority and whatever small degree of
security that existed came from a system of social relationships
whereby mutual assistance was expected and granted. The absence
of political integration at any higher than the local kin and
residence group was paralleled by an absence of extensive economic
121 integration. Not only political success but economic well-being
105 as well depended on relatives, friends and neighbors all support-
571 ing one another. Out of this developed an economic system based
602 on status. By "status" I mean an economy in which the deployment
433 of resources is based primarily, though not exclusively, on imper-
556 atives derived from social relationships and religious obligations.
In such societies wealth is expended on ceremonial activities, on
reciprocal obligations, on the gift and countergift. In an indus-
trial society there are analogous ceremonies and celebrations in
which wealth is spent on relatives and ritual. However, such
expenses are marginal to the amount of total outlay. Such expen-
ditures have proportionately little effect on the sum total of
wealth in comparison to expenditures connected with rational pro-
duction. By way of contrast, in a nonindustrial society social
expenditures of wealth can be the most important way in which
121 wealth is utilized. In a society heavily dependent on local ties,
105 on kin alliance, on neighborhood association, social activities
571 tend to be the essence and breadth of the group. Production is
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121 105 571 602 433 aimed primarily at satisfying needs and obligations which arise from these activities. Distribution supports the continuation of these activities and the social relationships that they help establish.

121 128 The central problem I have set for myself is to describe and explore all actual uses of wealth and types of exchanges in the Rif. To the economist orientated towards the analysis of the set of economic variables in an industrial society the method used here may seem distant from his customary procedure. There are few charts and no graphs. Whatever quantification that has been achieved is the result of rough scaling. Yet such estimates can give us an idea of the proportionate percentage of goods used for subsistence, for ceremonial purposes, for cash from the market, and so forth. By analyzing the relative importance of each type of expense one can grasp the dynamics by which the system is driven.

121 433 571 602 As I shall point out in the body of my thesis, the conditions in which this economic system developed lie in the fact that the Rif was part of the bled-as-siba and, as such, it was socially, politically, and economically detached from the rest of Morocco. Under such circumstances, the Rif society developed its own system of exchanges as a relatively successful adaptation to the absence of political integration. While political conditions have radically altered over the past few decades, the social relationships, traditional obligations and expectations have remained as major organizing principles of the Berber society.

[178]

591 Neolocality is
178 the preferred residence pattern today and matrilocality is permitted.

613 The rights and duties of these descent groups are rather
596 more fluid than is generally reported for African societies. As
602 I shall discuss in Chapter 5, the principle of patrimony does not
571 rule out other types of kinship alignment nor are kin ties the only form of relationship. Each community is made up of both kinsmen and non-kin with relations based on economic association, friendship or communal obligations.

178 In the Rif today the jural authority of the upper levels of segmentation[1] has been superseded by bureaucratic organization. [613] However, in the lower rungs such as the dharfiqth and ijuiga [596] traditional social obligations are still extant. [602]

The final social unit in the Rif is the local community
621 or dchar, a neighborhood association both both kinsmen and non-kin (called douar in other Berber areas). The size of such a community varies considerably. If we take the tribe of Ibuqquyen
621 we find that it is divided into three fractions. In a survey I
619 took in 1966, the fraction of Tagidit had 14 dchare, the largest
162 having a population of 707 persons living in 114 different homesteads, while the smallest consisted of 94 persons living in 47 households. In the fraction of Axgar, the largest was 607 people living in 107 homes and the smallest was 163 people in 34 homes. In Izmourin, the most populous of the three fractions, the largest dchar had 1,509 people living in 268 homes and the smallest had 228 living in 35 homes.

1. [i.e., the ar-rba or tribal levels--Analyst]

553 cones of sugar, and a few kilos of tea. For a man, especially
574 father's brother and mother's brother, not to attend this cere-
602 mony and offer gifts is regarded as a public repudiation of the
431 family. On the other hand, the gift maintains the giver's right
[578] to aid and mutual support by placing these obligations on the recipient.

553 At approximately ten o'clock on the morning of this day
782 the mother brings the child out onto the patio and the father sacrifices a ram. As he kills the beast he whispers into its ear three times, "Your name is...," calling it the same name as that of the newborn child. Only by propitiating the gods in such a manner can the child be properly baptized.

553 On the evening of this day, an open invitation is extended
574 to everyone in the dchar. However, since anyone who comes is
621 expected to bring gifts of barley, bread, and money, the actual number of guests will include only a restricted group. Everyone who attended the wedding ceremony of the parents is expected to be present. The celebration for a child of a rich man is the
553 best attended, since he is expected to provide large amounts of
556 food and often hires professional musicians and dancing boys.
574 Such festivities are the chief and most appreciated form of public entertainment to the Riffian. A more important factor, how-
[571] ever, is that the wealthier a man is, the more social contacts and obligations he has formed. Of course, rivals for superiority often do not attend the ceremony, using such occasions to emphasize their independence and competitiveness. The naming ceremony
553

584 are not available, the father's brother. The negotiations may have begun at the request of a young man who has already selected a girl, but more likely they have been initiated by the parents without the knowledge of the children involved. The more isolated [178] and traditional the dchar, the more prevalent is the exclusion of [721] the children themselves. This, as well as the subsequent description and analysis, applies only to initial marriages. Men with [595] multiple wives generally arrange all subsequent matrimonies. The [369] urban context in the city of Alhucemas is different in that the majority of young men are cash earners capable of arranging their own marriage. Needless to say, no matter what the context, the [593] man attempts to have parental approval. An open break with one's family carries with it a high burden of social shame and inconvenience.

The opening of negotiations is very delicate. Men attempt 584 581 to marry their offspring in the most advantageous manner, either to families who are superior to their own or to equals. The strategy of choice is better understood when we recall the historical context of the Rif. As noted in Chapter 1, Rif society [571] was acephalous with a tendency toward anarchy. In such a situ- [602] ation each family sought security through a system of alliances based in part on kin ties. Although today internal security is [178] guaranteed by the national government, there is still a heavy [571] overlay of the ideology of alliance in influencing marriage, based on social and economic conditions. The shorfa or des- 565 582 792 cendents of the Prophet are still supposed to marry only into

178 A further weakening of the patrilineal principle was
411 that before pacification, one of the most common kinds of quar-
602 rels was between brothers over irrigation rights. In such situ-
578 ations it was not unnatural to emphasize alliances through matri-
lineal lines.

121 I think that the principle of unilineality is not as
611 important in the Rif as it is ascribed to be in many nonindus-
[571] trial and nonliterate societies. Social alliances are calculated
to bring the maximum social value to both parties. While this
makes for difficulty at the analytic level in interpreting the
structural unity of the society and the interrelationship of its
parts, it does not much bother the Riffians who need only conform
to a workable system and not an anthropological model.

582 While marriage rules are not as rigid as in many non-
584 industrial societies, they are likewise not random. One must
decide whether to marry a relative and by doing so reinforce
bonds of prior common interest or marry a nonrelated person and
set up new bonds. There are compelling reasons for making either
type of alliance and the final decision is made on the basis of
an evaluation of these factors as well as personal preference on
the part of the boy and girl.

584 While most marriages are arranged by the parents, the
couple, especially the boy, do have some role in the matter
should they refuse to be passive. Daughters are rarely con-
sulted as to preference, although fathers are not as autocratic
as often depicted in Berber ethnographies. A girl's most likely
chance of avoiding a marriage in which she has no choice is to

584 pick out a prospective husband and let it be known among her
circle of girl friends that she likes him. Within the community
[521] such information is conveyed through gossip so that it becomes
knowledge among the women in both the girl's and boy's family.
If the boy is interested he may ask his mother or grandmother
to urge the male members of his family to talk to the girl's
father. Such procedure occurs only among the poor, who are,
however, the majority.

584 Men have more say about their prospective spouse because
562 of the fear of divorce. Since the male has the option of initi-
586 ating divorce proceedings, it is thought unwise to force a son
into a marriage that he strenuously opposes, since all the advan-
tages that accrue from the match are terminated at its rupture.

584 Westermarck (1914:50-51) notes that among the Beni Wariyghar if
[782] a man wishes to marry a girl and his father opposes the match,
[571] the son can sacrifice a sheep outside the parental home, placing
an obligatory duty ('ar) on the father. He remarks that the
Riffians do not regard this as a good method for obtaining a
wife. I encountered no case of this occurring. I do know of
[593] instances in which the son has married against the father's will
[464] and has been kicked off the land. In such cases the men work as
[427] akhammas or migrate abroad in search of wage labor. In such cir-
cumstances shame is thought to fall on both parties.

584 Aside from the preferences of the couple, it is supposed
581 that a certain amount of advantage stems from marrying a relative
582 which is counterbalanced by disadvantages. My informants agreed

584 that the following factors are evaluated in each case.

581 Advantages in marrying a relative are:

582 1. You don't fight over whose family is superior.

2. You know the girl beforehand and have a fair idea of what sort of a person you are getting.

3. It is a simpler property arrangement.

4. Your family already knows the girl, presumably likes her, and there is no problem of an outsider coming in and being picked upon by the women of the household.

5. If a husband is fighting with his wife, the common family relatives will pressure him into treating the woman better in order to decrease the possibility of divorce.

On the other hand, there are a countervailing series of factors which discourage marriage to a relative:

1. It is harder to be in love with or be attracted sexually by a woman with whom you have grown up and whom you regard as a sister.

2. It is socially and economically advantageous to spread out one's contacts through alliances with non-relatives.

3. With an outsider, a non-related wife, the husband has more power because his wife does not have any natural allies with the household or the family.

4. Although property arrangements are more complicated, there is a greater possibility of bringing additional property into the family with an outside wife than there is with a marriage within the family.

581 While such exchange as emerges from marriage defies the
571 making of pronouncements about the guiding principle behind alliance in purely structural terms, it does expose the factor that the distribution of human resources is influenced by both social and economic calculation of a given situation.

584 Negotiations are always begun on the side of the prospective groom. No father would attempt to initiate negotiations

585 574 262 The father of the groom provides meals and tea for all the guests at his home as well as at the house of the bride. The meal for the guests in even the humblest of homes consists of a course of cous-cous and a meat tajin. In most ceremonies there is also a poultry course. Enormous quantities of bread and tea are also served. The most accepted casual factor for [178] reducing the days of the wedding ceremony from seven as they were before Abdel Krim to two or three days as they are today was that the expenses of providing hospitality over such an extended period of time was ruinous to all but the most prosperous families.

585 574 571 Guests are likewise expected to incur various expenses. At this moment we need only note the recurrent support of a public ceremony which is expected throughout Berber society. All mature guests are expected to provide a quantity of barley, loaves of freshly baked bread, fresh fruit and vegetables, or a monetary equivalent. This tends to discourage, among the poor fellah, the presence of nonrelatives, because it represents an outlay which is not part of their residual social obligations. In addition, such attendance by a nonrelative imposes future obligations which, in only rare circumstances, they are willing to accept. By attending the wedding and taking part in the joining in matrimony of the couple, one gratuitously assumes the duty of attending the naming ceremonies for the infants of this union. Such acceptance of future responsibility is not normally accepted unless there is social advantage thereby.

585 The primary social obligation for the guests occurs on the night of the wedding ceremony. On this evening the bride [593] is brought by her elder brother or a close male relative (but [602] not her father or uncles) to the home of the groom. Transpor- [492] tation is usually by mule with the bride leading the procession, [754] atop a mule and wrapped from head to toe in cloth to avoid the [494] evil eye. In the more accessible areas and among the wealthier [492] families, the bride is brought by truck or taxi to within a few [178] hundred yards of the groom's home where she mounts a mule and follows the rest of the customary procedure. Her parents are left behind at their home and do not see her for another seven days. The bride, dangling precariously from her mount and followed by her entourage, is met some fifty yards in front of the groom's house by his party. This moment signals a renewal of festivities by songs and dances by both a group of girls who accompany the bride and a group of girls associated with the [533] groom's family. Entered into this melee are also the professional musicians, making the entrance into the groom's home quite spectacular. The bride when she arrives at the house is handed a bag of barley which she ceremonially tosses to the right, left, and directly behind her, symbolically representing the hope of fertility from her concourse with her new husband. She then enters the house and remains isolated with the women until the next day.

585 The social obligations of the guests occur at this time, 594 when they are expected to give gifts of cash to whoever sponsored 591 431

Joseph E-5 (1965-1966) 1975 . MX3 R1f MX3

585 574 571 431 the groom's wedding and to the groom himself. This is the high point of the celebration and a public demonstration of the web of social debts that have been accumulated over the past or projected into the future.

The gift giving takes place during a ceremony which is supposed to emulate a royal court paying tribute to the king. The groom, addressed as Moulay or Sultan, enters into a circle of guests who are sitting outside the house on mats or under arbours. He is accompanied by the same set of men who had gone around with him on the previous week collecting grana. This is a group of six or seven close male friends and relatives called his iwziren, from the Arabic wazir (viziers), or ministers. It is rather odd that the terminological forms of central government (sultan and viziers) should exist in the traditional wedding ceremony in an area where the central government exercised little or no authority. That it existed prior to the introduction of central authority is, however quite certain since both Coon (1931:134-135) and Reniero (1932:146-150) report it.

[534] The groom, wearing a new jeballa, the hood of which covers his face to ward off evil eyes, enters the circle accompanied by his iwziren. As this procession enters into the circle of male [538] guests they sing in Arabic, [539]

sabhain er-razik
sabhain el-khalaik
sabhain er-ruwak
El ardh el-khalaik

Praise be to the Provider
Praise be to the Creator
Praise be to the Permanent
The Creation has begun.

585 574 571 431 as they walk inside the circle three times. Traditionally, rifles were fired by the iwziren but with the confiscation of all firearms, firecrackers are today used as substitutes.

The groom then sits down on a chair in front of a low table which has previously been placed in the center of the circle. Squatting beside him on the ground are his iwziren, his father, and usually his younger brother. Behind him stand four girls who throughout the remaining ceremony fan him with their scarfs. At this point the gift giving commences. The [522] gifts, always in money, are collected by a traditional spokesmen, often a comic figure, who makes jokes and dances about as he announces aloud who has made the contribution and how much it is. With each announcement, the women who are inside the house but huddled around the doors peering out at the ceremony, commence to ululate. The comic figure goes about the crowd collecting gifts which he hands over to the groom's father, who places them in a brass tray in front of Houlay. The largest gifts, usually given at the beginning of the ceremony, are from relatives of the groom's father, such as brothers and uncles, as well as from relatives of the bride and close friends of the groom's father. These gifts are rarely under 100 dirhams but as the evening progresses smaller gifts of from 5 to 20 dirhams are given by age mates of the groom, by guests who wish to express their thanks for the evening's entertainment, and by local notables who feel it incumbent to give a small gift at each wedding they attend. The greater part of each gift goes to the father of the

585 574 591 431 groom to help defray the expenses of the wedding, but a part can also be designated for the groom's personal use. Each gift must also specify a small amount for the person who makes the public announcement. A typical large gift would be announced as two hundred dirhams for the master of the wedding (the father), five dirhams for Moulay el-Sultan (the groom), and one dirham for the spokesman.

Although the smaller gifts are given gratuitously out of good will, the larger ones (fifty dirhams and upwards) are part of an extensive system of social obligations on the part of blood relatives, affines, and friends who are either fulfilling past obligations or setting up future ones. Recipients of gifts given by the father of the groom in the past are now expected to respond in kind. If the marriage is between members of the same lineage or between families who have contracted prior matrimonial links, a set of obligations will already exist. If it is the first marriage between two families, the bride's family is supposed to initiate good relations between the two families by donating to help defray the wedding expenses.

585 574 591 431 556 [114] Coon has noted in passing (1931:141) that this gift giving can become a competitive game in which the guests give increasingly larger amounts of money during the ceremony in order to shame rivals. I have never encountered such a situation in which the ante was raised during the ceremony itself, but a somewhat similar incident occurred in which a man donated more than the community felt to be his social obligation. At a wedding in one

585 of the fractions of the Beni Wariyaghar, four large gifts were
574 given. One of these gifts was 350 dirhams ($70) from a friend
591 of the groom's father, another of 450 dirhams from a brother of
431 the groom's father. The final two gifts were from two men who
556 had married daughters of the groom's father. One of these sons-in-law had been married into the family of the groom's father for ten years and assumed a superior attitude towards the other son-in-law, who had only two years previously married into this family. The latter, a young man who was poor in his own right but related to several well-off families, went to his relatives borrowing from each in turn. At the wedding ceremony he was able to give 400 dirhams to the father, or one hundred dirhams more than the other brother-in-law. At the time of the ceremony [578] the shamed brother-in-law bitterly accused the younger man's entire family of deliberately shaming him. The family denied that they had been in collusion with the boy, but also they took his side in the dispute and the two families ceased speaking to one another. As a participant on the one side explained to me, "I have a little bit of the evil eye for that outfit and they probably have the same for us."

585 After all the donations have been collected, the groom's
574 father and his paternal uncles take the tray filled with money
591 into the house and counts the proceeds. The amount received by
431 the groom's father may equal the outlay that he had to make to finance the wedding, and if the sequence of events ended here the man's debts might be balanced out by his newly acquired assets.

585 Gift exchanges of this sort, however, are part of an ongoing
571 system, rooted in past transactions and perpetuating future
431 obligations. If, for example, a man paid $300 for a wedding
182 and received back $300 in gifts, the account would by no means be balanced. Unless the man were wealthy, the original $300 was accumulated through a network of previous obligations and the subsequent $300 has set up a whole new series of obligations. [426] There are few Riffians who are owed no debts and owe no debts to others. The system is rarely in even balance where one's debts are equal to one's credits. It is a system of exchange guided entirely by its own rules and completely divorced from commercial exchange. Its ability to work as a system is guaranteed by the pride and honor of the participants.

585 The final ceremonial act involves a feast held on the
574 seventh day following the last day of the wedding. On this day the immediate relatives (father and mother) of the bride see her for the first time since she left their home. This is a much smaller ceremony, involving only the close relatives of [431] the two families involved. On this occasion, in addition to the food provided by the host, small gifts are given the bride by her own family. This celebration is socially important because the groom's family wishes to impress upon the visitors
585 how well their daughter has married. This sentiment seems to
574 be particularly felt among the women associated with the groom's
152 family. They are placed in a strained position since the bride's
[292] party are dressed in their finest guest costume, while the women
[291] of the groom's family wear their everyday working clothes.

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Chapter 4

VARIETIES OF SOCIAL EXPENSE: RELIGION AND MAGIC

In the previous chapter I attempted to demonstrate that a certain proportion of the expenses of the Berber in the Rif, either in the form of consumption or investment, is motivated by obligations arising out of familial responsibilities. In this chapter I shall take up the role that magic and religion play in the distribution of wealth. I have attempted to show how incentives arising mainly from the way the Riffian interprets the supernatural world have an effect on the consumption, dispersal, and/or exchange of wealth. My aim is to demonstrate the feedback from ritual to production in the hope of eliciting one of the main distinctions between industrial and nonindustrial economies. To put the argument succinctly, in the former one finds little relationship between the use of wealth and religious or magical ceremony while in the latter there is a high degree of interaction. While the amount of wealth used for such activities in an industrial society is proportionaly small in comparison to the total wealth, in a nonindustrial society it may be one of the most frequent and common expenses.

In common with most world religions, Islam serves a heterogeneous religious community. As a consequence of this there exists a bifurcation of its form and content. On the one hand it serves a more or less sophisticated segment who find spiritual

000 general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage. The
788 authority that al-Hadj possesses is quite real and the man who
484 feels his resources might be better deployed for profit-making
554 enterprises will not carry this authority within the community. If a man wishes to maintain a position of prominence in the Rif and is fifty years or older, it is practically mandatory for him to travel to Mecca.

796 While the hadj does not affect all the Rif economically the ceremony of the Great Feast or Aid al-Kebir which is held all over the Muslim world on the tenth day of Dhu 'l-Hijja has
[782] a universal application. On this date every family head must sacrifice a ram to commemorate God's beneficence in allowing Abraham to sacrifice a lamb in the stead of his son Ishmael.

796 The month preceding this ceremony is one of intense
571 anxiety for the poor, for they must acquire either the animal
602 or the money by which to get one. Many of the Riffians have a
435 stock of animals from which they can select the sacrificial ram.
[152] Those who do not must rely on their wealthier sponsors, either
[231] relatives or business associates. The price of rams spirals upwards as the day of Aid al-Kebir approaches, reaching its climax the day before the celebration. Men who normally earn a subsistence wage in Alhucemas or Targuist begin to spend more time among their relatives in the countryside as they attempt to reinforce their communal support within the traditional cul-
796 tural setting. In many ways the celebration is comparable to
435 Christmas in Christian countries, except that the expenses

556 request and frequency of demand, the better-off familes have
576 the social obligation of providing for any itinerant traveler,
574 whether he be teacher, student, or pilgrim. The exchange is, of course, not one-sided. By providing for men engaged in religious pursuits one enhances one's own piety and reputation within the community. The travelers also provide sources of news and gossip and on occasion religious instruction.

556 An analogous obligation which involves persons within the
554 community rather than strangers is that of the protector. In
● 571 modern times this has meant that certain prominent men in each Berber community have the social duty of acting as intermediary between the people of the community and the external government, or in effect between the fellah and the Caid. Caids, as the most
631 692 immediate representatives of the Moroccan state at the local level, are given certain judicial powers. They can adjudicate marketplace disturbances such as thievery or fighting. They can have any man in their district brought in by the soldiers assigned to them. They can assess fines and imprison a man for up to five days without a judicial hearing (sentences of longer duration can only be assessed by the secular qadi in Alhucemas or Targuist). If judicial action of this sort is taken against
631 692 a member of the community his family will go to a prominent local
556 554 man. By making presents of goods or animals to this man, he is placed in the position of protector and is under traditional
571 obligation to intercede on behalf of the petitioners. This form of mutual support between local lords and the community was much

631 692 556 554 571 more dramatic in the days of blood feuding when the same mechanism was used to acquire allies. The interference of a locally prominent man is generally efficacious since government representatives attempt to minimize local hostility. An open confrontation between a local lord and a state representative generally leads to the dismissal of the latter. In neither of the two locations where I spent extended periods of time did the caid stay in office while I was there. In one of the two fractions the caid changed three times. The balance of political power is weighted towards the locally prominent, for the lords of the old bled-as-siba represent the highest rung of the informal but powerful traditional structure of leadership while the caids and pashas represent the lowest level of the other form of government, the formal bureaucracy.

641 648 556 619 The national government is well aware of the actual dual organization of political power in the country. While every Moroccan may have equal status based on constitutional law, he does not have equal status in terms of customary law. This social fact is exemplified by the ceremonies held in Rabat where dignitaries from all across Morocco are called upon to attend such celebrations as the King's birthday, Aid al-Kebir, or the promulgation of a new law. On such occasions, depending upon the size of the tribe or fractions, one, two, or three men who represent the traditional power structure are royally commanded to be in attendance. Such meetings are ritualized reenactments of the loyalty of the populace as expressed through its local leadership.

556 472 183 It is possible, of course, for a single individual to incorporate both a spirit of entrepreneurship and of tradition in his activities. However, such a combination is difficult because the principle of profit is basically antagonistic to the principle of self-effacement and communal solidarity. The entrepreneur stands in a different relationship to the community than most of its other members. His pursuit of profit is an individualistic goal and there is a proverb among the Kabylia Berbers which with equal justice can be applied to the Rif, ". . . only the devil [Chit'an] says 'I' . . ." (Bourdieu 1965: 210). In such a society, individual initiative in the realm of capital gain or income-producing investment may be financially remunerative but of negative value in terms of social interrelations. Those men who are motivated by profit often find the atmosphere of the rural community uncongenial and they migrate to Alhucemas or Targuist. While Riffians who live in the rural areas may be covetous of some of the advantages which accrue to the urban dweller such as electricity and running water, they are contemptuous of the faster pace, the crowded conditions, the separation from the soil, and the dishonesty, with which they associate the city businessman.

556 472 183 521 369 186

There is, I think, a quite clear cleavage between the ideology which guides the Riffian in his economic action and that which guides the entrepreneur. The difference is manifested in all sorts of practical arrangements such as credit, contract, investment, and so forth. It is due to the fact that

556 472 521 577

556 the profit incentive is entirely secondary to the social incen-
472 tive. In order to understand these differences more clearly,
571 let us examine the process by which an investment is made by
577 both the tribal peasant and the entrepreneur.

556 In order to make an investment some sort of capital must
454 be available, either through savings or acquired by credit. The
231 most common form of savings among the fellah is in the form of
471 livestock. Livestock in this society, however, is encumbered with certain values that savings in an industrial society do not generally possess. For one thing, livestock is heavily committed to meet ceremonial expenses. It is also a highly visible form of savings and consequently has a symbolic value in terms of prestige. By assigning such resources to capital development the fellah weakens his traditional position in the
556 community. Another form of savings is jewelry, which can be
30 regarded as cash storage. While jewelry has this potential in
454 the Rif, it is rather difficult to translate into a function.
[422] Jewelry is a woman's possession passed on from mother to daughter. Although many men are wont to utilize their wives' jewelry for increasing cash reserves, they cannot readily do so. Many of the women hoard their jewelry in their mothers' houses in order to assure that it stays in their possession. This form of wealth is regarded as an inviolable possession of the female and as such has definite cultural barriers to its being used as savings.

452 Another form of financing expenses for investment is through obtaining credit. Credit in the Rif, however, is based

256 the mill collects a tenth of all the flour he processes, regard-
435 less of the level of demand or any market condition. While mills
472 are not economically competitive with one another, they are soci-
256
472 ally competitive. As one informant put it: "My father was better
477 than his, my grandfather better than his grandfather. If he has
a mill, why shouldn't we?" If there is only one mill in a local-
ity, which is a fairly rare circumstance, the entire community
uses it. However, if there are two or more mills, the basis of
[571] preference on the part of the users is not determined by conveni-
[578] ence of location of the mill but in terms of social factors such
[602] as either ancient antagonisms stemming from the blood feuds of
the past or familial alliance based on marriage or kinship.

423 Just as social motives and strictures lie behind the uses
427 of capital, so too do they influence the regulation of labor.
We see this in a series of sharecropping associations which arise
between a man who has more property than he alone can personally
cultivate (or who is prohibited from manual labor by his social
and/or religious status, such as some shorfa) and a person who
holds less land than he can cultivate to meet the subsistence
needs of his family. The latter may or may not be a property
holder, although usually he does have a small plot of his own.
Land fragmentation through the peculiarities of Islamic inher-
itance has, however, reduced many plots to sizes too small to
meet such subsistence needs as a family requires. In these cir-
[464] cumstances the Riffian hires out to those who have managed to
keep larger estates or have acquired land through purchase.

464 465 Although the akhammas association is the most prevalent, it is only one of several such arrangements. Another sort of laborer is the amkari, who is hired for sowing and odd jobs about the house. His salary is not fixed and he is apparently paid in cash and clothing (Hart 1956:75). Another type of traditional [233] work association is the amikhan, who is a youth employed to herd a man's goats and sheep. He ". . . is hired for a fixed period . . . [and] gets a non-stipulated sum at the end of his contract" (Hart, ibid.:75). Such an arrangement is graphically portrayed in Bowles' translation of Charhadi's autobiographical novel, A Life Full of Holes. Another form of association is the arabbe' who cultivates household gardens, orchards, and trees. He is given a fourth of the fruit and vegetable crops; if the terrain is difficult to terrace, his portion is adjusted (Hart 1956:75). [256] Most mill owners employ an assistant to do the grinding, and from the mill owner's portion the worker receives a fourth of the grain.

The common element of this sort of association seems to be that the salary the laborer earns is determined by customary regulations rather than by the supply and demand of workers. It [571] is an association between the elite and the poor which is based [565] on a fixed compensation and outside of any regulation by the market economy.

675 A correlate of this situation in which commercial arrangements are based on social factors is the irrelevance of written contracts. Whereas contractual agreement forms the basis of most

443 pertinent features of the marketplace and its importance in the economy of the Rif.

443 182 571 The market in the Rif does not function simply to facilitate exchange but serves a whole series of social needs of the fellah. By looking at the noneconomic functions of the market we can better understand why a man will ride a mule or walk for two hours to market, yet make only a single purchase. We will understand why a seller would prefer to deal in a familiar market although other markets may have higher prevailing prices for his goods. The market has both an economic and a social function and it is difficult to say which has primacy over the other. As Montagne points out, "Le montagnard ne se rend pas au 'souq' uniquement pour acheter ou vendre, il y vient souvent aussi pour rencountrer ses amis, réglar des contestations de terrain ou de pâturage, ou plus simplement encore pour connaître les nouvelles du jour" (1930:249). And Bourrilly has noted the importance "non soulement économique mais encore politique, de ces souks ruraux. Ces rendez-vous périodiques, que des liens d'hospitalité, tels que la zettata [a promise of safe passage], rendent plus forts, aboutissent forcément à une fusion plus ou moins complète des groupes qui fréquentent les marchés voisins" (1932:216).

Only by observing the noneconomic significance can we avoid the type of thinking that led Albéniz to conclude that ". . . poco a poco van disminuyendo el número de zocos en el territorio, como consecuencia de la bondad de las vías de comunicación. Los zocos de escasa vida se ven absorbidos por los de auge más intenso, y

443 los indígenas, por si mismos, van señalando, con su ausencia e
182 inhibición, cuáles son los que deben desaparecer" (1930:122).
571 Or as Mikesell argues, improved communications and the bus favor the growth of large regional markets over the local one. "The simple charms of the local suq lose their appeal when larger markets with a wider range of goods are accessible" (Mikesell 1958:509).

443 Aside from the fact that market appeal is not based on
182 "simple charms," I think both Albéniz and Mikesell have founded
114 their conclusions on a false evaluation of the purposes of the market. When an institution serves multiple purposes it cannot easily be replaced by another institution which serves a single purpose. The large, impersonal regional market does not fulfill the social function of the local suq. Even as a source for supplying the fellah, the regional market has only a marginal value since most purchases are of articles (kerosene, tea, tobacco, etc.) whose value does not appreciably alter from market to market. Indeed, Mikesell elsewhere recognizes that from a buying standpoint one market is as good as another. "Everyone has a turn with the itinerant peddlers, but few purchase anything; for in this area of subsistence economy each family guards its currency for a marriage or some other special event" (1958:503).

443 But it is especially the social functions of the market
182 which reinforce the fellah's loyality to his local suq. It is
571 here that he can maximize his advantages of being part of a status economy. Here he can seek out local notables to assist him.

He can get credit in the local shops on the basis of his reputation. Here he can consult relatives and friends, settle petty disputes, arrange marriages and sell property. His ties to the marketplace do not depend on "improved communication" but on a whole series of both economic and noneconomic involvements with the local market.

What is the nature then of this local market? I shall try to arrive at a picture of the common elements of all <u>suqs</u> of the Rif, although there will be slightly different elements or emphasis in each specific <u>suq</u>. As Bourrilly comments, "L'importance de ces souks varie naturallement avec l'importance des régions qu'ils desservent, de la clientèle qu'ils attirent, des zones de production dont ils sont le débouché" (1932:211). Still, after spending many weary days in such places one cannot help but sympathize with Albéniz: "Visto y descrito uno cualquiera de ellos, están vistos y descritos los demás" (1930:118).

Most of the markets are walled-in enclosures with only one or two openings, assuring the collection of market taxes. They are ideally located near a source of water so that animals can drink. Special places outside the walls are allocated for the quartering of mules and donkeys. Inside the market are rows of permanent structures, either small shops or cafes. On a non-market day the site will be deserted except for a few soldiers assigned to each market and a few tribesmen, sitting inside the canteens drinking tea.

as clothes, kerosene, sandals, rugs, blankets, hardware, and spices.

A final group of market participants is the shop and cafe owners--those men who have purchased or inherited business shops which ring the market. Within such shops one can purchase most of the commodities that the fellah seeks for household consumption. In all the marketplace, the only appearance of credit is in such shops where, based on one's personal reputation, payments can be spread into the future. With all the other participants of the suq, each transaction must be culminated by an exchange of cash for goods. It is only in the local shops and with local tribesmen that honour guarantees a purchase. In the Rif when people interact in the market yet are not part of the same community, payment has no guarantee except an immediate exchange of cash. In the shops the local fellah, if they have maintained trust, may purchase without money. As a shop owner explained to me: "We live in a poor country. How else could the people buy?" There is no interest charged on such credit.

These, then, are the perimeters of the marketplace. I shall now discuss the functional relationships obtaining within this complex. By discovering who interacts and with what degree, we shall be in a better position to evaluate the role of the Berber in the market. First, we note that the large-scale buyers do not interact in the local markets with the large-scale sellers. This is a function of size and transporting. Any firm operating at this magnitude in the markets of the Central Rif realizes its

442 profit not from dispersing goods in the same marketplace but in
571 transporting the goods from one region to another.
[443]

Large-scale buyers interact with small-lot sellers in a limited range of goods which, generally, can be transformed by industrial processes into another commodity (grapes to wine, almonds to cosmetics, oranges to canned fruit), the conversion of which enhances the value of the original object. These buyers are plugged into a larger economy with export connections and are
442 sensitive to external conditions. Tribesmen who produce in order
433 to meet the demand of such buyers are likewise closely connected
434 with the national and international economy. There is a small but growing number of fellah who produce to sell to this group, but even among them there is a reticence to move completely into the commercial sector. My impression is that the great majority of the Riffian peasantry engaging in cash-cropping attempt to maintain a balance in their production schedule which continues to include a fair proportion of traditional crops. By generaliz-
[458] ing their production, few of the grape specialists suffered from
[435] the decrease in prices during 1965. This contrasts with the one-crop estates in Algeria which during the same period suffered severe setbacks.

443 The small-scale sellers of both goods and services occupy that position which is left open by the unwillingness of the local Berber to engage in full-time commerce and the absence
[434] of the large-scale entrepreneur. They are, on the one hand, dealing in commodities or services the margin of profit on which

443 townsmen were traders who carried their vegetables and flowers
829 on foot or bus to distant parts of the regional market in order to achieve maximum profits. The Riffian seeks only to make an exchange in his local market in order that he might get back to the more important aspects of his life.

443 Such exchange, however, is not without calculation. As I
438 mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Berber goes to his local
182 suq because it satisfies certain social needs. He likewise frequents the market because it offers him clear-cut economic
443 advantage. It is here that he has acquaintances among the mer-
438 chants, craftsmen and occupational specialists with whom he has
● 571 certain guarantees, based on familiarity, that he will receive a fair price. Such assurance is absent in a foreign market.
[609] Invariably, the stranger pays more for a service or good than the regular customer. In the most important aspect of trade, that of livestock, this consideration is coupled with that of
443 transportation. From the standpoint of seeking out the best
438 price based on multiple competition, the larger the market,
435 the better the prices. In the long run, the best price for animals exists in the larger markets and one knows beforehand that an animal sold in Had Ruadi or Arba Taurirt will fetch a lower price than at Beni Bu Iyash. Yet to sell in such a market the fellah is faced with almost insurmountable difficulties. Should he take his livestock--a goat tied across the back of his mule or a cow herded along on foot--to a market further than his local suq, he must return the animal home or be entirely

443 dependent on the prices existing in the market for that day.
438 On the other hand, if he is dissatisfied with the price in the
435 local market he can easily transport the beast home again, to
await a more propitious occasion.

443 I think that the major element which emerges from this
182 schematic presentation of the composition of the market and the
571 interaction of its various actors is that each fellah, as an
individual, plays a relatively minor role in the workings of
the market. The market brings together buyers and sellers,
but the fellah have a different orientation than the other
443 buyers and sellers. Stemming from this difference in orienta-
182 tion is a basic difference in the form of economic activity.
The primary concern of the professional merchant is to dispose
of his products on the market, hopefully at a profit. The pri-
mary concern of the fellah is to meet subsistence and social
needs. If he can do this by disposing of his crops or livestock
on the market, all the better. But the market as such does not
provide the dynamics of the Rif economy; the dynamics are pro-
vided by the impulses activated by the status economy.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

611 Descent is patrilineal, and the number of paternal relatives a Moroccan can remember is always greater than the number on the mother's side.[a]

565 184 The important details of social stratification show little variation within the northern zone. Real or alleged descendants of the Prophet constitute the highest class. Among tribesmen, the most respected and important class is composed of gentlemen farmers. At the bottom of the scale are blacksmiths, market weighers and criers, musicians and dancers, and tinkers or other itinerant artisans. The Jews, regardless of their profession, are lowest in the scale.

62 184 Besides these aspects of religion and social organization, there are many features of settlement and livelihood that show little variation within the northern zone. The basic unit of settlement is the hamlet or farmstead. Settlements of more than a few hundred inhabitants are rare. For every farmer who grows cash crops there are at least a hundred others who are concerned only with their own or community needs. In all Morocco, subsistence farming and barter govern rural economy, and trading takes place at weekly markets held in the open air.

241 433 [437] [443]

One of the clearest expressions of cultural diversity is the division of northern Morocco into zones of Arabic and Berber speech, a division which coincides with other cultural frontiers. Generally speaking, the eastern half of the area (Rif, Garet, Gal'aya) retains Berber speech, whereas the western half (Jbala, Ghmara) has been Arabized. The historical and cultural factors that have brought about this division will be considered in chapter iii.

175 631 648 A state, by minimum definition, is an extent of inhabited territory presided over by a government capable of asserting its authority. During most of its history, Morocco was hardly a state in this sense of the word. One of the important themes of Moroccan history is the division of the country into lands of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) and lands of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*). The belligerence of the free tribes was based not only on their hatred of taxes[b] and authoritarian order but also on their inability to conceive of any social or political unit larger than the tribe or confederation of tribes. Most of the Rif was part of the land of dissidence.[c] Jbala and Ghmara formed an intermediate zone, neither submissive nor openly rebellious in the face of domination from without. The plains of Wad Lukkus and the Gharb were easier to subdue.

619 628 [648] Dissidence was expressed in intertribal and intratribal conflict as well as in opposition to the central government. In most of the Rif, and especially in Aith Wariyaghar, quarrels over ownership of land, water rights, and personal affronts led to blood feuds of extraordinary savagery. Some feuds did not end until one of the participating families was exterminated. Feuding and the necessity for defense gave rise to a complex system of alliances based in part upon moieties. In the days before the Spanish occupation, each house in Aith Wariyaghar had

[571] [616] [712]

[a] In popular writings Berber society is sometimes described as being influenced by matriarchy. This assumption is based upon the fact that Berber women are much more active and unabashed than the Arabized women of the towns; it is based also upon the tradition that the Garmantians were led by a queen or prophetess. E.-F. Gautier, "The Monument of Tin Hanan in the Ahaggar," *Geog. Rev.*, 24 (1934), 439–443.

[113] [b] *Makhzen* comes from the verb *khazana*, "to lock up" or "to hoard." The word is synonymous with "government" and more especially with the treasury department. E. Michaux-Bellaire, "Makhzen," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913–1938).

[113] [c] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 380–381.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4

The introspective character of rural Morocco is enhanced by the weekly trading market or *suq* (plural *aswaq*). These markets attract urban merchants, craftsmen, and entrepreneurs, but their principal function is to serve as outlets for the products of local specialization. One family comes to market with a basket of figs, and another with a pannier of walnuts. After an interval of haggling, each leaves with the specialty of the other. Exchange of this sort helps to add variety to the diet, and encourages an intelligent appraisal of local conditions of soil and climate. Staple foods seldom enter into this exchange. The goal of each community is to be self-sufficient in breadstuff. A few commodities, such as sugar, salt, tea, and kerosene, are imported from the cities, but the chief function of the weekly market is to satisfy the modest wants of dispersed communities engaged in subsistence agriculture.

Markets are held in the open, at predetermined sites that are deserted during the rest of the week. In each tribal area one or more sites are reserved as market places and named as follows: *had* (Sunday), *tnine* (Monday), *tlata* (Tuesday), *arba* (Wednesday), *khemis* (Thursday), *jema* (Friday), and *sebt* (Saturday).[a] On the morning of the appointed day, streams of people converge on the market place. The *suq* is much more than a market in the economic sense of the word; it is also a social and political assembly of great importance in tribal life. Market day is the time for legal transactions and all manner of negotiation. By nightfall tribal authorities have resolved most of the problems of the week.

There is great variation in the size and influence of markets. In 1949 authorities of the Spanish protectorate made a study of the volume of business transacted at each *suq*. About a hundred markets were located; the annual volume of business, including barter, averaged about 10,000,000 pesetas per market. About a fourth of the markets had an annual business estimated at more than 65,000,000 pesetas (table 5). Most of the larger or regional markets are in the populous Rif (fig. 24). In the sparsely settled area of Sanhaja as-Srair, only one market, Tlata Ktama, serves as a trading center for more than one tribe. Khemis Izagan (pl. 7, *b*), with trade estimated at 3,000,000 pesetas, is typical of the smaller local markets.

Each market has four main functions: (1) distribution of local products, (2) exchange of rural surpluses or specialties for urban goods, (3) circulation of articles such as pottery and millstones from villages which specialize in making them, and (4) dissemination of foreign imports. The larger markets differ from the smaller in their greater emphasis on the latter two functions. Moreover, the larger markets are usually located at the convergence of communication lines and on the frontiers of complementary production zones.[b]

Emigration

Unfortunately, the weekly markets do not compensate for uneven distribution of population and productive land. Few communities are able to accumulate

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 93)

[a] On French maps the names of the days of the week appear as *had, tnine, tleta, arba, khemis, djemaa,* and *sebt;* on Spanish maps the usual spellings are *had, tenin, telata, arbaa, jemis, yumaa,* and *sebt.*

[b] On the location and function of markets and the changes caused by recent improvement in communications, see M. W. Mikesell, "The Role of Tribal Markets in Morocco," *Geog. Rev.*, 48 (1958), 494–511.